/113/

Physicians are not consulted in any case. All illnesses that do not show external influences are traced back to evil sorcery or to the "pest" (see under "Religion"/see p. 191 ff./). They must therefore be treated by the native shamans /see the glossary, p. 250 /. Open wounds and injuries are treated by the midwife. Now and then, however, people visit the mission station in order to have a tooth pulled, on which occasion the nurses without reservation praise their great steadfastness in enduring pain.

The impairment to health caused by the consumption of coca and chicha seems to me to be exaggerated by the authorities; it would be even less with sensible and nourishing food. The prohibition against coca consumption and the government's battle against coca and chicha give the impression of being more a struggle against a brandy tax deficit, for alcohol under the state monopoly may be sold to any Indio in any quantity. The fact that the Paez generally does not work hard and continuously probably has nothing to do with any degeneration caused by the stimulants mentioned, but rather it is quite simply his psychological attitude which does not let him see why a human being should strive for things which seem unnecessary to him, things beyond his animal necessities of life, eating and reproduction. I often asked whether, in their opinion, there might come a time when the Paez, too, would wear only Colombian clothing or even use electric lighting. They had never thought about it and in no instance had an answer.

II. Material Culture

1. The Dwelling

a) The Settlement

Politically and sociologically the Paez villages of Tierradentro embrace the inhabitants of a valley basin more or less closed off by the surrounding mountains. In their structure, however, they are not villages in our sense, by which we understand a locally concentrated aggregation of a number of houses,

/118 cont./

342 and begin to chew coca and tobacco and to drink brandy to-
761 gether. After a while the shaman ascertains through signs in
789 his arms or legs whether bones of the Pijao are in the ground.
756 If this is not the case, the building may be started; otherwise
787 the man must look for another building site. After the building
is finished, a further ceremony is performed (see under "Religion"
342 /see p. 205/), and then the same shaman fastens special herbs
752 to the roof to prevent the eč or gelyómp spirit, hostile to man,
789 from entering the house from there.

Houses are built only by men, by fathers of families.
342 One man alone, however, is not in a position to do this. At
476 least in the erection of the house posts he is helped by his brothers,
[462] as well as by other men and friends who have nothing else to
do anyway on these days and receive chicha and something to
342 eat for their assistance. The building material costs nothing,
273 to be sure, but the builder must furnish a substantial amount of
476 chicha, for which planning must be begun in plenty of time, two
or three years beforehand, by the planting of sufficient sugar
cane. This is the task of the married son who is still living in
[594] his father's house this long. To make the chicha he also still
[249] needs the sugar mill of his father, upon whose consent and help,
[461] therefore, much depends. According to the amount of chicha
that is available, the building of the house thus lasts two to six
months, depending on whether only five or 15 men participate.

342 The most important thing in the construction of the house
335 is the erection of the wooden frame (Ills. 161 to 164 /see p.272 /),
[476] which always requires several men who bring in the trees, which
are superficially smoothed with the machete, but not freed of
bark. The master of the house is able to make the walls by
[462] himself in an emergency. The covering of the roof, too, like the
entire house construction, is men's work, but the woman of the
house may hand up the sugar-cane leaves for the roofing. First
the vertical corner and side posts of the outer walls (yátšínda) are
erected, then the outer beams lying horizontally on the side
posts to support the roof (yátpopānt) are laid on, and, as the third
step in the work, the horizontal crossbeams (bīkas) are fastened at

/120 cont./
the simplest possible form. Three rocks provide the lateral support or stand for the pots, of which there are two at most, a metal one, usually of aluminum, and an earthen one. Very poor families have only one earthen pot, which is relatively cheap to buy. The earthen pot cannot be hung up; it is set between the three fire-stones in such a way that it cannot tip over, whereas the aluminum pot is hung by its handle on a soot-covered, angled stick that hangs down from the ridge (Ill. 166 /see p. 273/). Above the fire area there hangs a frame made of maize canes and about one square meter in size, on which household utensils and, above all, the rock salt for salting food are stored, airy and dry. Tables, chairs, or stools of any kind are unknown. One generally sits on the hairy side of an untanned and hence board-stiff cowhide, on which one also /121/ sleeps, or one sits on a beam, a block of wood, or a stone. Paez who have seen house furnishings in Inzá or in the dwellings of white colonists have sometimes built for themselves as a bed a sort of bench 30-50 centimeters high, consisting of sticks or reeds laid side by side. For sleeping the customary cowhide is spread on it. These sleeping benches are not used for sitting.

The nights in Calderas are generally quite cool, and the light construction of the walls with cracks between the individual maize stalks does not in any way prevent the cold wind from coming in. In a few houses, near the sleeping area, I saw the walls sealed by means of expressed sugar-cane piled up horizontally. For sleeping, the members of the family lie down in a circle around the fire area, where the fire must be kept going all through the night. This, like all housework, is the task of the woman, who must gather sufficient fuel beforehand and get up every two hours during the night to stir up the fire. Furthermore, she must get up an hour earlier in the morning in order to have the first meal, which is eaten around five o'clock, sometimes even at four o'clock, prepared on time. In spite of this, the men think that they are the ones who do the hardest work and that basically they are the only ones in the village who really work.

C /128 cont./
311 those of the colonists in Tierradentro. In the territory of the
[137] latter there is almost no forest anywhere; all the slopes have been
[233] deforested and artificially, but not through excessive agricultural
C cultivation, made into pasture areas for the livestock of the
311 colonists or large landowners. This has upset the natural water
312 economy of the region. The water flowing off unchecked dur-
134 ing the rainy season washes away the humus earth and forms
C deep gullies on the slopes. The soil thus eroded is infertile.
[361] The mountain slopes dry out completely during the dry seasons,
P so that dwellings can only rarely be built in the higher locations
311 because of the lack of water. In the areas used solely by the
134 natives, in which a natural alternation of cultivated and fallow
312 land is observed, there are countless channels and small brooks
361 that make it possible to put a house near running water at almost
P every spot on the landscape.

241 Every task of the Paez that is connected with the fields,
461 be it clearing, sowing, or harvesting, is done extraordinarily
47% willingly by all participants, "because it is for food." There is
P simply no such thing as anyone unwilling to work in the fields.
134 The soil is not very fertile, since the major part of the moun-
241 tains in the region of Calderas consists of slate which often stands
[135] out bare and on the slopes is covered with a layer of humus or
P loam only 20 to 50 centimeters deep on the average. In the
244 valley the humus layer is often more than a meter deep. The
P abundant land available, however, does not make the utmost
[312] utilization imperative. And although the numerous mountain brooks are diverted in such a way that every house has its running water, nevertheless there is no acute inducement for irrigation or terraced cultivation, nor does the use of them seem to be known.

Maize occupies the major part of the cultivated area, closely followed by sugar cane, the raw product for the manufacture of chicha. Both constitute the basic production of agriculture, and there is no Paez family that does not cultivate sugar cane and maize on its land. The size of the cultivated areas cleared by burning varies. The smallest fields that we saw

P C /134 cont./

276 by the "Ministerio de Trabajo, Higiene y Prevesion Social."
C This prohibition was extended by Decree No. 578 of 1941 by the
656 same ministry, according to which an exact list of the existing coca plants of the country was demanded and their destruction ordered, /135/ with a simultaneous prohibition against new plantings (Duque, 1945, pp. 445 f.). Of course this prohibition against coca planting cannot be strictly supervised and enforced in all the remote parts of the country.

P The argument for the use of coca has remained the same
276 from the time of the Conquista to this day: it is supposed to
● 461 drive away hunger and to give strength. "Without coca one cannot work," I was told over and over again when I asked the Paez the reason for chewing coca. And, as a matter of fact, one sees the Paez chewing it on the long trips to market and during every physical task; but only at work, when one needs strength, and not during festivals and celebrations or on festive days. (The shamans are an exception, see below.)

P The bitter tasting coca is chewed by both sexes, and the
276 boys begin at 12-14 years of age, when they also begin helping
P their father with the work in the fields. The girls generally begin
[887] somewhat later, and in old age both sexes chew quite heavily and more frequently than is normal in younger years. The men take coca three times a day as a normal dose, and each dose lasts about two to three hours. Nothing is eaten all day after taking the first meal early in the morning before work; the second one
P is not eaten until after they return home from the fields in the
[272] late afternoon. During the pauses for coca, unfermented sugarcane juice (nyũšayumfl) is drunk, everyone carrying a calabash with one to two liters of it with him.

P The coca shrub, about 80 to 200 centimeters high, is
276 striking even at a distance because of its fresh, light green,
249 lancet-shaped leaves, which have two slightly curved longitudinal
[137] lines on the underside. Among the Paez of Calderas almost every family has its coca shrubs, the leaves of which, after plant-
P ing, are harvested from the first year for about 20 years. Anyone
[437] who does not own coca shrubs himself trades for the leaves in

/138 cont./

249 407 461 273 In chicha production for festive days it is customary for the mill to be turned only by human power, by men or women. One could generally observe that the slightly intoxicated men exerted themselves only a short time in each case and were then relieved by the more sober acting women, who -- with their children on their backs -- showed remarkable endurance at this physically quite hard work.

407 335 [412] Almost every father of a family and houseowner makes his sugar mill himself, or a neighbor helps. There are no professional carpenters. With an ax (swéla) and a foxtail saw (serúčo) the cylinders are sawed from a tree trunk and crudely smoothed. The cylinders thus prepared are provided with a small hole in the center, from the base and upper side, and are clamped horizontally, by means of pegs, between two posts rammed into [413] the ground and held together with a rope. Then with a gauge (regla), which consists of a board with thorns, the distances between the pegs are precisely incised on the revolving drum.

273 [249] [516] [415] The sugar cane is put through the crushing cylinders several times by the workers, one squatting on either side, until the juice, which is caught in a wooden tub or in calabash vessels, is pressed out (Ill. 175 /see p. 278/). It is first vigorously heated and then put in a large horizontally positioned tree-trough (kánoa) up to five meters long, in which there must always be a little chicha to begin with (Ill. 165 /see p. 273/). It is stirred up with the old chicha in the trough, the kánoa is covered with banana leaves, and already the next morning the chicha is ready to be drunk. As time goes on the chicha becomes ever stronger in alcoholic content. By noon of the same day it is already strong enough to distill brandy from it. If one does not do this, /139/ some water must be added the next day to dilute it. If this is not done, the chicha is neither drunk nor is new sugar-cane juice added, whereupon it becomes sour and bitter after four or five days and strongly sears the throat. There are also "gourmets" among the Paez, however, who let the chicha go on fermenting, untouched, for up to three weeks and only then drink it so sharp and sour.

/151 cont./

286 or agave fiber, is folded over upon itself several times, slightly twisted, and then tied together in the center with a simple thread. The latter is knotted several times in such a way that it runs out into a point which at the same time serves as a plaiting needle. This folded thread supply, which is up to four meters long and six to eight millimeters thick, may easily be passed through each loop of the fiber bag. When a length of the thread is used up, /152/ a loop of the thread supply may promptly be pulled through the "eye" of the "needle," and this continues until the supply is used up.

• [461] The method of making the fiber bag and the wool coca pouch is fundamentally the same. The work period lasts two to six weeks. In the case of the fiber bag (yaha), the largest of which may measure more than a meter in height and width, a small bottom is plaited first, from which the bag is worked, bell-shaped, in several sections up to the rim. At the start of this process, between the thumb and ring finger for the one part and between the index and middle finger for the other part, there is stretched a short piece of thread, around which the continuation of the thread is wound loosely and spirally in loops. This produces the first row of meshes (Fig. 30 /see p. 255/). The following length of thread is now again drawn back through these, so that it loosely catches the previously formed loops. Proceeding in this fashion, when the rectangular bottom has been made to a size of about two by five centimeters, one starts at a corner of it with the first section. Here, too, as in the entire plaiting, the thread continues in the same technique. In order to enlarge the bag, as many additional rows are interlaced in each loop of the bottom as are desired to widen the bag.

At the end of the work a broad row of holes is worked into the bag three loops below its upper rim, and this serves for fastening the carrying band. This band terminates in loops at both ends, conditioned by the method of weaving (see below). For fastening, the first loop of the band is drawn through a rim eyelet from the inside and put first around the top toward the back. Then the second loop is drawn down through the first loop and only then back again through the eyelet of the bag toward the top-back as before. The last loop of the band is knotted with

/157 cont./

286 always lies conveniently in front of the woman for the weft. The beginning and end of the woven part start at a distance of about three centimeters from the horizontal stick. At the end the last weft thread is knotted at the edge of the warp. When the stick is pulled out, the band comes off the frame. Since the warp threads terminate in loops, the texture of the band cannot become slack.

2. Weaving Apparatus for Cloth

286 The weaving of cloth of larger dimensions for clothing is
294 also done in the technique of the linen texture and according to the same method as the weaving of the carrying bands for the
[581] fiber bags. Every woman can do both, for she herself must be able to make all the material needed by her family for clothing; otherwise a girl has no prospect of getting married.

The weaving apparatus stands upright and consists of two strong posts which are rammed into the ground about two meters apart in front of the house, but still in the shelter of the roof. Into each of these posts, a little above the ground, a notch is cut, into which the breast beam is placed horizontally and lashed. Its position with respect to height is unchangeable. The warp beam, likewise horizontal, may be lashed to the vertical post with ropes higher or lower, depending on the length of the cloth to be woven, whereby a uniform tension of the warp threads is achieved.

The non-twisted woolen warp threads are stretched in the same way as in the case of the carrying bands for the fiber bags. The width is determined by the piece of material to be woven.
[461] The work period for a woman's skirt takes a total of about six months. In order to attain a certain decorative effect in the finished piece, between the uncolored sheep-wool warp-threads are stretched likewise uncolored or differently colored cotton threads which, in the subsequent dyeing process with plant dyes, do not take on this coloring.

/167 cont./

484 while the /168/ woman on foot lugs the goods behind. From
439 Calderas more men than women visit the market. For both it
482 is a very welcome occasion to become intoxicated. The
[273] owners of the taverns try to prevent the stealing of the much
[275] coveted beer and whiskey glasses, popularly practiced by the Paez, by chaining the glasses to the tavern tables.

On market days it is customary to leave very early and to transport the loads in the fiber bags in the customary way: the men take the carrying belt diagonally across their chests and the women hold it with their foreheads. In both cases the bag hangs on their backs. Then generally travel in groups of twos or threes, but not infrequently one also meets solitary
[432] individuals. Provisions are taken along, for, as a matter of
[273] principle, nothing is bought on the way except chicha or brandy.
[485] If it is necessary to stay overnight, nothing is paid for this. They sleep either at the entrance of a house of acquaintances or spend the night in the open field.

439 For traveling and for the visit to the market they try to wear
484 at least one article of European clothing, a felt hat, a shirt, or
[291] a blouse. The quality plays only a minor role, since the worst
[177] shirt is still more desirable than the finest ruana. A person who cannot buy anything in the way of clothing at least ties a black
[262] band around his hat, such as the felt hats have. Provisions are carried along in the fiber bag, roasted maize, cabbage, potatoes,
[415] arracacha. A person who can carries with him two or three of
484 the woolen coca pouches, in one of which there is coca and lime,
461 in another one money, and in the third the plaiting material
[285] for the straw hat. Almost all the men do this plaiting work, which actually is not work at all, but more like a "blind occupation," when they have nothing else to do, either when visiting, on the way to market, or also during the shaman ceremonies.
[283] The women, no matter where one meets them, are equally in-
[285] dustrious and always busy with spinning or plaiting the fiber bags or the wool coca-pouches. Like the men, they carry their work material with them in a second wool pouch.

/185 cont./

844 until very late and only with great difficulty. The proper depth is supposed to be about 30 centimeters.

846 851 608 [797] [551] Four to six days after birth and after the first bath, the father or one of the godparents brings the child to the sacristan of the village or /186/ to the women missionaries, in order to have it christened with water and given the name of the Christian saint of the christening day. Every child has only one given name and the Paez surname of its father. The baptism by the priest with oil takes place later on a suitable occasion, in the presence of the godparents, and is followed by an eating and drinking bout. The mother also takes part in this, after she has left the dûyat and has washed herself, her child, and her clothes and has been purified by the shaman.

[783] [756]

861 The rearing of the children is in the hands of the parents, who teach them the necessary accomplishments of life quite as a matter of course and almost in play. Disobedient children are also beaten, however, and, to be sure, usually if the son has no real desire to help his father with the field work. In punishing, the fathers are generally stricter than the mothers and on occasion beat them with leather straps all over their bodies. The boxing of ears is also to be seen. If a young man proves to be lazy in later life, the father is blamed because he did not properly admonish his son to work. Illegitimate sons, who lack the strict hand of a father, are said to turn out badly in many cases, though as such they are very popular. Since they do not know their father, they are not obliged to work in his field. They are all the more in demand as helpers in the fields of other families. When they are older, they may borrow land and establish a family. Usually they even receive the land as a present. Thus, they need not starve by any means. Illegitimate daughters are in a more unfavorable position, for their help is not needed for the most part, and their mother does not have a household of her own. Nevertheless their marriage prospects are not unfavorable, since a girl does not have a dowry, but is married only on the basis of her personal qualities.

[461] 848 [426] [431] 848 562 [583] [581]

/199 cont./

764 result of the very hard stamping of the earth, the burial place
184 does not stand out from the surrounding terrain either because of a regular grave mound or because of any kind of slight elevation. A stone 30-60 centimeters in size serves as a marker, which is set either at the head or the foot end of the grave.

769 Whereas the deceased is given no accessories at all in the
[764] grave to take with him and no offerings are given this is done in
[796] the following year on December 8, the festival of the Immaculada. On this day, and each year recurrently, the relatives offer the spirits (ãhimos) of their deceased, whom they think of as wind or shadows living in their former houses, their favorite foods: meat, yuca, potatoes, maize, chicha, brandy, coca, etc. These gifts are laid on a banana leaf on the floor of the church, and a candle is lighted and placed beside them. Small children do not get food, but flowers as gifts.

/200/

e) The Course of a Day

461 Men and women perform the tasks appropriate to them.
462 Those of the women are the least varied, since meals must be prepared daily and wood and water must be fetched regularly for cooking or for maintaining the nightly fire. Moreover, the work of the woman is more bound up with the house, whereas the men have shorter or longer pauses in their work and during these they visit neighbors, help them mill sugar cane, and drink chicha.
461 Steadiness is not the strong point of the Paez to begin with. It is but seldom that tasks are completed in an uninterrupted process; rather, we almost always found that on the following day the men were busy with something different from the previous day. To be sure, field work always requires long pauses between the clearing, the drying of the felled trees, burning, erecting the fences out of the remaining wood, and sowing. But even within each of these stages of work they generally take their time. True, there are said to be persons who can work for several weeks, up to a month, uninterruptedly in the clearing of a field, but I found again and again that after two to four days of work, a day of rest is inserted.

1: Nachtigall--134 E-5 (1952-1953) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15

/200 cont./

●46/ On one day, for example, a portion of the field is cleared of weeds, on the next the sugar-cane mill is repaired, on the day after that a neighbor is helped with housebuilding or milling sugar cane, then nothing is done for days because of drinking, and not until several days later is the weeding begun again. Once they have planned or begun a project for the day, however, they [123] will not let themselves be interrupted. Several times it happened that I would visit a family in the evening, in order to plan something which would be not at all unpleasant for them for the next day. But if they had already planned something else, I was obliged to come back on the day after that. In the fields, too, the men are not to be diverted, or only with difficulty. During the sowing, weeding, clearing, or other work on the field, they let themselves be drawn into conversation only during the coca pauses; at other times one could scarcely disturb them at these and similar tasks which are accomplished in a very even tempo -- provided that enough coca is available. It is different with the women. They let themselves be easily diverted from their daily, little varied household tasks. They are the ones who really do the most work within the family, for, as soon as they are married, they are never able to sleep through the night, /201/ but must stir the fire anew every two hours. Furthermore, they get up earlier in the morning, and they cannot go to bed until later at night. To rest a bit during the day is completely unknown. Nonetheless, they are satisfied with their lot and work happily, since all the women work in the same fashion and they have known nothing else for generations. There are, of course, tasks which are done willingly and others which are done less willingly. The goal of the necessary occupation seems to be decisive, for all the tasks necessary for nourishment are done willingly. Thus, the men, for example, like to work in the field, "since it is for food," like to plant sugar cane or build a sugar mill, "since it produces something to drink"; and the women, too, like to drag in firewood, [296] "since it is for meals." Washing clothes is one of the decidedly [499] unpleasant tasks of the women, as bridge-building is among the [462] men. In the examples sketched here, the tastes of all the Paez seem to be alike.

/201 cont./

461 28 Whereas the men for the most part plait straw hats when they have nothing else to do, the women are busy with spinning and making the coca bags or the fiber bags. But even at this they do not work steadily in the sense, say, that they complete first one bag, for example, or make all the preparations from the outset for weaving an article of clothing; rather, they always work a little at a time on each task. Thus, for example, first a little spinning is done, then wood is fetched, then a coca bag is worked on, and then perhaps a brief hour is spent at the loom in order to weave a few centimeters more on the carrying band of the fiber bags, if the fiber material is at hand. No preparations are made for this plaiting and weaving for a long period in advance, but rather one provides herself with wool, spins it, weaves a bit farther, and then drops the work again for a week or more. Nevertheless, the women do not have periods of out-and-out idleness, like the men.

461 574 151 [192] This doing-nothing is designated among the Paez with a word of Spanish origin pasnyándo (paseando). To be sure, one must not overdo the inactivity, that is, not "go for a walk" longer than about two weeks in succession, for otherwise one is called "alko" (dog), who runs from house to house, sniffs about everywhere, and gets his food from other people by begging. This is encouraged by the unwritten law of the Paez, to give food to a starving person, [773] wherever it may be, until he is satisfied. This is taken very seriously, not only when adults are the petitioners, but also in the case of small children, in memory of an event in prehistoric times when Chauté /202/ turned a number of persons into stones because they had not given a begging child anything to eat out of their surplus (see the myths /see p. 224/). Hence if anyone enters a house "pasnyándo," he is given something to eat. Younger, unmarried people in particular take advantage of this and sometimes do not work at all, but go to a different house every day. They inquire as to where sugar cane is being milled, help there, are given chicha to drink and food to eat, and the next day go somewhere else. Thus there are some men who have neither house nor field, but nevertheless live quite well. To be sure, the

/202 cont./

461 villagers know these "strollers," and even say that they are
574 sluggards who do not work; but if they then come at mealtime, they
156 get their food and are usually kept there gladly, because they know how to tell stories well and amusingly, go around everywhere, and always have news to impart. If a man is married and has a wife and children, he must, of course, cultivate his own field, in order to be able to feed his family. In Calderas, however, there is even a married "stroller" who has neither a house of his own nor his own field. He lives in the house of a good-natured man whom he helps in the field and in the house. But this is regarded as an exception.

829 Thanks for favors or benefits bestowed, which, according
571 to the view of the Paez, are taken for granted, were not custom-
[576] ary originally. Today, however, thanks are often expressed with
[178] a word of Spanish origin "slopage" (Dios se lo pague), without, however, any feeling of a debt of gratitude, such as toward a
[621] wealthy person or a person in a superior position. Within the Paez communities there is, to be sure, no sociologically established authority; similarly, there is no chief or employer of a number of people who would be dependent upon him and owe him obedience. Hence no one is forced to obey anyone whom he does not like or to do anything that he may not care to do. Accordingly, there is no respect for strangers to the place or even for the priest, for when the Calderun are in their village, "on their soil," everyone regards everyone else as equal. Not the least important in this connection is the general understanding of one another by the inhabitants, their strengths and weaknesses, which makes pretense, any spurious authority simply assumed by an official, impossible. This is one reason -- perhaps the principal reason -- why the Calderun purposely do not want to have anything to do with the "blancos" and their officials. An attempt to trace this back to an awareness of their own inferiority indicates a complete misunder-
[565] standing of the character of the Paez. Their lack of social classes, and therefore the impossibility of looking down on /203/ another person, explains their general respect for one another, which is bestowed on everyone equally. Everyone grants everyone else

Everyone grants everyone else

/203 cont./

571 whatever he expects and claims for himself, quite as a matter of
829 course. This results in an entirely natural self-esteem, injury to
155 which on the part of the "blancos" is felt as very painful by the Paez.

576 Within the Paez communities the obligation of a greeting (gwĕ́čaya) by a younger person to an older one is strictly observed. Even a "family feud" does not absolve the younger people from the respectful greeting "pétenga" (translated by "good day") toward the older people of other families, who acknowledge it with "pé'taw." Removing one's hat at the same time is not customary.

[608] A greeting by shaking hands takes place only among members of the family or with one's godfather or godmother with the salutation "ndyósta utsménga" (Godparent, how are you?), during which the hat is also removed. Contemporaries greet each other with

[521] "éwča" (how are you) and reply with "éwčataw" (I am well). Generally people chat awhile when they meet, introduce the conversation with a joke, a bit of news in the village, or perhaps merely a remark about the weather.

156 Though the Paez may be regarded basically as an individualist, this does not hold true universally. On account of the abundantly available land, it is possible for him to isolate himself and withdraw for weeks at a time to his separate farm, but

● 461 nonetheless the Paez does not like to drink his chicha alone. And
476 usually friends and neighbors help, not only with housebuilding or
156 clearing, but also with sowing and lesser tasks. The labor of the individual, in instances of mutual help, is merely loaned, however, since the same persons meet again for joint aid on the corresponding tasks of a neighbor. The owner in question must also make chicha and food liberally available for each task, which makes every joint task a small feast. The actual useful effects of the communal work are slight, and, as a visitor from the outside, one has the impression that the joint eating and drinking is the primary thing, interrupted at times by only brief periods of work. On sober consideration -- which no Paez, of course, undertakes -- the joint consumption in connection with a communal task is more expensive for the individual than if each person himself over a correspondingly

/203 cont./

461 longer period of time, consumed the products he himself raised.
476 Thus the practice of communal work and the joint consumption
156 of food and drink connected with it do not unconditionally emphasize the necessity for remote individual farms as against the compact village layout.

556 /204/ From what has been said about joint work and the
461 joint consumption associated with it, it follows that, with this
[476] method of production and consumption, practically no one can acquire great wealth, for the more a person has, the more he needs to entertain his helpers. Theoretically, however, it would be easy to become rich, if, for example, a young man would clear an additional piece of land each year for the planting of wheat or sugar cane and sell its yield for money or barter it for horses or cows. He would have to do this for several years, and then his herd of cows and mares would increase quite automatically, and with it his wealth. The actual work necessary for this
556 would be slight. Nevertheless, this is not possible in practice,
626 because, on the one hand, most of the Paez do not calculate and think so far ahead, and, on the other hand, the sufficiently intelligent and industrious ones would be subject to the dangerous envy of the other members of the community. The democratization of the Paez communities not only favors what is common, but also prevents the individualization of what is common to all -- among other things, even the common poverty.

For this reason no show is made of any possessions that one
556 might have. Significantly, only in connection with taking an inventory of livestock at the end of our work did we discover that even in Calderas there are comparatively rich people. This was not to be seen by an outsider, since these families do not stand out from the others either by dress or by way of life. Moreover, they did not tell me anything about their property -- a matter of more than ten head of cattle in the case of three families. I learned about it more or less accidentally from other
[65] people. In the case of these families, I could not see any reason for the concealment of their wealth, since they do not have any obligations or taxes or fees to pay. They likewise do not play a

/253 cont./

539 When he came back, he saw the snake in its place. Then he changed back into a human being. The fiber bag was there, too. The bananas were there, too. The snake filled with water (that is, underdone, still watery) was there.

It was afternoon when he went into his house. The bag he brought to his wife. He came to his wife with this bag. When he had knocked, he entered.

2. Orientation and General Knowledge

772 776 177 Nothing definite can be said about the ancient Paez conception of the world, since Christian influence has had a strongly modifying effect. In any case, there is in the Paez vocabulary the word "tâtyinas," which is sometimes translated as "god," and sometimes -- and corresponding better with the meaning of the word -- as "creator." The word "Dios" is used to designate the Christian God. Tâtyinas, I was told, lives in heaven, on the earth, and in the earth. He made all human beings. He does not receive sacrifices. He is not mentioned in shamanistic ceremonies.

772 775 The vocabulary shows that, besides the earth and the conception of a heaven or of the firmament, there were also two places of the dead that were familiar. The happy land of death, mbéka kígwe, is like heaven. Literally it means "land of chicha," and if one knows the Paez, one realizes that in any case it must be /254/ a happy land. The land of the dead corresponding to [176] "hell" is called eč kígwe. The eč are the most evil of all spirits. They live in the earth; hence this designation must refer to a subterranean land.

804 • 461 As for natural periods of time, only days and months are known, as well as work days and non-work days (ki 'sen). The latter designation is now used for Sunday. Originally this was not a fixed day; rather, people worked and celebrated as they could arrange the time within a larger or smaller community. Even today, during the times of clearing, the people sometimes work for weeks in the field, without inserting a work-free day.

/289 cont./

534 by cuts with a machete (Ill. 203 /see p. 290/). In spite of the
322 relatively correspondent holes, each flute has a slightly different tone caused by the varying diameter of the tube.

533 According to the investigation kindly undertaken by my
534 brother Wilfried on the sample flute of Vicente Puche that I acquired, it is tuned between C and C-sharp. Its six finger-holes produce a nonsemitonic seven-tone scale. All the tone steps, however, are somewhat inexact, that is, not exactly a whole tone-step apart. This is particularly noticeable from the third to the fourth tone where we perceptibly have less than a major second, but considerably more than a half step. This is noteworthy because in our diatonic major scale there is also a definite half-step between these two tones.

The blowing is on the right or left side. The extended fingers, work-worn by the heavy field work, cover the finger holes with the first or second joint.

534 The value of the flute is not very high. On festive days
[678] people are in the habit of becoming intoxicated in the festival
[796] houses and in the subsequent brawls the flutes are used as striking
[273] instruments and thus broken.

/290/ Every music group has at least one small cylindrical drum (káka) or a bass drum (kut), both of which are covered with skin on two sides and are wider than high in their dimensions.
[77] Drum and bass drum in this form are probably borrowed and were
[194] taken over throughout South America from former Negro slaves. Their manufacture among the Paez is specialist's work. At
[463] present Vicente Puche makes the flutes as well as the drums. In former times, however, there was a special expert who made only
[461] drums and bass drums. The work time for their manufacture amounts to 10 to 14 days, since one day is allowed for each operation (cutting wood, drying it, for the various processes in treating
[824] the skins, etc.). The cylindrical body of the drum is made from
[237] the wood of the utsé tree. The two drum-skins (katc) are made of calfskin. They are stretched with cords made of agave fiber, which run in a zigzag from one stretcher to the other over the body of the drum. They are tightened by a continuous loop that encircles two strands of the stretching cords at a time and at the same time

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SC15

(*cf*). It is very little cultivated in Tierra Adentro, however, and the dry leaves are imported from the lower Paez and Tolima basins. To this product the Paez is indebted for his disgusting chewing and spitting habit, the use of which is still doubtful to me. Coca leaves are said to be a powerful reconstituent, allowing the Indians to endure long marches and great privation. But the women do not use it, and however often they may participate in these hardships, it is with the same endurance. At all events the Paez men never cease chewing and spitting. Each of them carries a supply of coca leaves in his *iisa*, and the quicklime or *kuctan* in a small gourd, both hanging at his left side. Now and then he ejects a mouthful of green saliva, making sure that there be a clean whitewashed wall near by, in order thus to decorate it. He then takes a new handful of leaves, sprinkles them with a little *kuctan*, and fills his mouth again, ceasing this everlasting process only long enough to eat, drink, and sleep.

Tobacco is known in Tierra Adentro under the name of *nuči-hi*, but it is never smoked or chewed. The sugar-cane, *niusa*, is cultivated in small patches. The only textile plant observed by me is a short-leaved agave called *sasto* (Span. *magucy*). The larger part of the district inhabited by the Paez is above the region in which grows the bamboo called *guaidua*; but this beautiful grass is known to them under the name of *mom*, or *mum*. They transport canes of it from a distance for use in the construction of their lighter bridges; and at Huila, about 1,800 meters above sea-level, there was a small plantation of it, showing a primitive attempt at cultivation.

Several useful plants have been mentioned in connection with dyeing (page 318). Although in the Huila mountains there is at least one species of rubber-yielding *Sapium*, the Indians do not seem to have known of the elastic properties of its gum.

A most striking feature of the upper forest zone of the Palo valley is the wax-palm, *láme* (*Ceroxylum andicola*), which is also for the Indians an important economic plant on account of the wax which they obtain by scraping the lofty trunks (plate IX). This product they use mainly for illuminating purposes. Un-

/286 cont./

291 the waist, and over it a rebozo or shawl of foreign make; they wear hats of masculine manufacture. They carry a thin stick
283 one meter long more or less, called kasguat, held under the left armpit, and at its upper end there is a bundle of wool to be spun, a task which they do at any time, while walking or sitting in the house, regardless of whether a child is resting on their backs or, when they are walking along the road, a heavy
301 load. Only the women wear ornaments consisting of multi-colored necklaces, earrings, and sometimes rings.

293 Both men and women usually carry three woolen pouches,
415 aside from others of fique, a very small one for money, a larger one for mambe /coca and lime for chewing/, and the third, which is the largest of all and holds the other two, is used to carry palm leaves or the plaited work made with them for the men, and other things for the women.

276 Coca.--All the Paez are "mambe chewers," men, women,
[461] and children, regarding coca as an article that gives strength,
[261] frees one from laziness, and mitigates hunger. Without it, of
[273] course, they will not work. Coca and chicha, fermented sugar-
[262] cane juice, play the role of real foods, given their starchy and scant diet.

631 Parcialidades and cabildos.--Politically, the Indians are
621 organized into parcialidades, each headed by a cabildo made up of a gobernador and substitute, a major alcalde and another minor one, two alguaciles, three fiscales, a comisario, a capitán, and a síndico elected each year and put in office by the respective alcaldías of the municipio, except for the last two, who are named for life and put in office by the /287/ Church. Their functions are administrative and police work, but in reality they exercise functions of social, legal, and religious control.

631 The parcialidades are bounded by the craggy peaks and the deep, rugged beds of the streams and rivers in such a way that each one circumscribes specific kinds of geography, and even of

/182 cont./

423 The work on the land is a daily exercise in co-operation.
461 Owership by an Indian is an unquestionable right, and its de-
[173] fense a categorical imperative. Lliban and Juan Chiracol
[628] fought the Pijao for the ownership of the land and to defend an
[648] inalienable right. Likewise, because the whites covet their land, they do not like to have them around /183/ and avoid receiving them under some pretext or other. Their security and
[735] their happiness lie in the ownership of land. Poverty as they understand it, a shortage of food and livestock, is due solely to the laziness of those who suffer it.

857 Children grow up in continuous communion with the
868 activities of their parents. While the girl helps her mother in household tasks and goes out with her to bring firewood from their respective clearings, the boys with their machete on their shoulder and their pouches of coca and mambe /lime/, exactly like their fathers, clean the clearings, build fences, weed their plantings, and when the maize ripens and the wheat grows tall, they spend the day defending them against the attacks of parrots, guaras, borugos, squirrels, and coatis. At an early age they are already doing the same tasks, but with the hope of building a house, marrying, raising children, and owning livestock, large quantities of coca, and sugar cane for their
342 chicha. In a way, the house is a necessary supplement to their pieces of land; furthermore, many are for the period of the clearings. The selection of a site for the house does not take into account either the beauty of the landscape or the levelness of the terrain, but rather the inaccessibility of both. Only when the house is to last for more than one generation will they attend to certain requisites: solidity, construction or privately owned land, and the selection of an adequate site by the medicine man (té éu). One fine day the owner selects a site: "This is a good place to build a house and to live," he
[750] says. Then he takes there the medicine man, who during the
[787] night "thinks about" whether the site is suitable or unsuitable; he chews coca and remedies, takes mouthfuls of aguardiente

4:Bernal Villa--24 E-5 (1952-1953) 1953 SC15 Paez SC15

VII

The Milling, the Chicha and the Chicha-makers

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It remains to be said that the fiesta begins with the milling. Although it is common to use a horse to operate the sugar mill, it is more usual at fiesta time to move it with human arms, masculine or feminine. It makes no difference. The two laborers for the milling squat on either side of the sugar mill, and one hands over the cane while the other receives the bagasse, which is piled up at one side to be handed back again; this is done up to 12 times in order to extract as much juice as possible. The millers do their work in silence when they are not drunk; while they do it with diligence, there is relaxation, laughter, shouts, and imprecations when they are under the influence of alcohol.

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The juice is gathered in troughs, or less frequently in calabashes and pots; it is heated to near the boiling point and then emptied into the troughs, in which, inasmuch as they are well "cured," fermentation is rapid. The troughs are made of huge tree trunks that reach up to one meter and 50 centimeters in thickness and four or five meters in length. As they are depleted through consumption, they are refilled with fresh cane juice. The troughs are covered with small mats made exclusively for the purpose. On the following day it is bubbly, yellowish, with a pungent, sweetish flavor. It is the beka pes (strong chicha) of the natives, who drink it with relish and delight. Five gourdfuls of this liquor are sufficient to make them drunk. Elsewhere called guarapo, while the Paez call it chicha, it is of great importance in their social life and diet. With its help the religious fiestas gain meaning, the mingas are carried out, baptisms and weddings are made more pleasant, and visitors are entertained.

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Work without chicha is inconceivable, and while they work they get no food whatever; they merely drink chicha and chew

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coca. Chicha thus provides the calories for work, while coca dulls the feeling of hunger. The consumption of chicha is general among men and women, old people and children. There is no household without chicha for any length of time. And during the short lapses when it runs low, they buy it or visit the households that have some. Among friends it is not sold, but given as regalement: /196/ "talking, laughing, regaling," as the Indians accurately describe the situation.

Milling for the fiestas takes place daily and is in direct proportion to the number of visitors. Milling for the mingas lasts two days, one week for baptisms, and up to a month for weddings.

The largest containers for chicha are the troughs, but use is also made of pitchers and large earthenware pots buried in the ground up to their rims.

The chicha-makers are the absolute masters of the troughs while they are fulfilling their function. They distribute the chicha, and even the fiestero himself must ask them for the amount desired. No one takes chicha without their consent. Furthermore, they accept the gifts which the visitors give to the fiestero. The latter merely voices his thanks. Although they keep taking chicha, they do not get drunk, so as to perform their task properly. They will have their day when they can do so.

VIII

Sugar-cane Aguardiente

At fiesta time, aguardiente is distilled every two or three days. The distillation is quite easy. The still is prepared in the following way:

A good-sized earthenware pot, 50 to 60 centimeters high and 25 to 30 centimeters in diameter, is filled with guarapo

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389 Explosive charges are made in the following way. The powder is packed into small sheepskin cartridges; these cartridges /200/ are tied tightly with maguey thread. Then they are pierced in such a way that the powder can come in contact with the correspondent fuse. They make with these explosive charges:

Firecrackers: a charge attached to a short stick.

Skyrockets: reed tubes full of powder, with one explosive charge, attached to a long pole. They rise to considerable heights and end with an explosion.

Stingers: firecrackers made of three charges attached to a stick.

Castle: a structure resembling half an ellipse, made of flexible rods to which the explosive charges are attached.

[796] The fireworks-maker is selected especially by the fiestero or the albacero, and at the time of the fiesta he distributes the firecrackers personally among the elders with a great show [465] of deference. The albacero must kill a pig or a sheep to reward him for his work.

•[461] The making of these objects is slow: a month or even more, not because it is complicated, but because steady work on it is tiresome.

389 During the making of these firecrackers, with the relative 787 tranquility that this implies, a man may come to know of a 75 destiny which he possibly had not suspected: becoming a medicine man. While sitting at his work he may feel the "signs" that herald his future activity. This was the case with a medicine man of Calderas. As a young man he knew nothing about remedies or "signs." But as he was making firecrackers, he felt the signs. He had five children at the time. After that he learned what the good and the bad remedies were from another famous medicine man. He put his knowledge into practice, cured a sick man, and devoted himself to being a medicine man. The signs, they say, are sent by God.

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755 * 756 783 members of the family, that is to say, they do not carry the surname of those who are performing Ut ká. None of them may work, not even at making hats or pouches. 1

● [461] The hog is skinned and washed over a hole; the hair and offal in general must fall there. When Ut ká is not being performed, the hog is skinned in a trough. Meanwhile, the curer divines as to how much meat is wanted by the souls. The latter specify the quantity, and the té eu translates it on a small stick, which is immediately passed to the slaughterers, who must cut out the pieces in accordance with this measure and put them into a pouch. The curer drinks aguardiente and also has assistants who help in perceiving the signs.

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[252] [262] /243/ The women prepare the maize for "mute" /stewed corn/, make small tortillas, as many as there are souls of the dead in the family. They also prepare every kind of fruit and food, plantains, arracacha, bread, yuca, bananas, granadillas, cucumbers, maize, eggs, meats, etc., to protect them against the ptans. They put a little piece of the foods into the pouch.

755 * 756 783 532 They also prepare some wooden dolls, in a number equal to that of the dead. They dress them like Indians: hat, poncho, trousers, shirt. About 40 meters from the house they dig a grave just as they do to bury the dead: a rectangular cavity with a lateral chamber. The curer weighs out two eggs of coca, picks up two cigars and a bottle of aguardiente. At about eight at night all those from the family leave, except those who are not. The cleansing is about to be performed. Then black clouds, like balls, gather. The curer blows remedies toward them. After two hours, the clouds go toward the left, clearing the horizon and leaving the stars visible in the immensity of space. The curer proceeds with the burial. In the lateral chamber of the tomb he places the dolls (representations of the souls) and a candle of laurel wax, after blowing the remedies at them. He closes up the chamber with a stone and then puts in the glowworms and the pouch of food.

1 [i.e. the family members--Analyst]

The cultivation of potatoes on a large scale /305 cont./ began more
244 433 or less two decades ago. "From 1925 to 1930 the one who planted the most potatoes was Ezequiel Mulcué, who caused amazement among the people; now the least planted is 20 arrobas," says one informant. Nowadays there are natives who sow up to 200 arrobas in a year, of which only 70 are planted in the "paramo," and they yield better results than the other arrobas planted. Then, we ask, why do the people of Mosoco have their months of hunger?

262 154 [198] The basic product of the Paez diet is maize. It was in the past and it continues to be so in the present. Psychologically, they feel completely satisfied when they have maize for consumption. Its absence causes a sensation of dietary dissatisfaction. [243] Before the era of the potato, the cultivation of maize and wheat predominated.

461 464 166 During the months of July, August, September, and October, the natives have little work. This is why those from Vitoncó, San José, Lame, and Suin go and sign up as peons on the fincas of the "whites" on the other side of the Cordillera (Popayán, Corinto, and even in the Cauca Valley). They return toward the end of the year, when the maize and wheat harvests are drawing near. The natives of Calderas, San Andrés, Santa Rosa, and Togoima go to the fincas of Inzá or La Plata. They return in October when the maize harvests are approaching. It must be said that this labor force is excellent and cheap. And for this reason very much in demand.

The natives of Mosoco have sufficient work in their own country.

Clearings /rozas/

241 433 The term roza is used generically for the extent of land cleared, burned, cleaned, and fenced, ready for planting. It is found on every private property. It has an area of approximately one hectare. Clearings of two or more hectares are rare. An increase in production does not reflect an enlargement of the clearings, but rather their multiplication and the utilization of ever more rugged and /306/ sterile lands. The natives, to

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388 began to use other types of raw materials. The death blow was
43 thus given to the only home industry of the above-mentioned regions. Wax is still gathered, but the price for an arroba in Silvia does not reach eight pesos. There is no longer any profit.
388 The Indians go on using it to make candles for household con-
[373] sumption and above all for illumination at religious fiestas. We
[796] have described the methods of gathering, extracting, and manufacturing laurel wax in the work entitled "La Fiesta de San Juan en Calderas, Tierradentro /The Fiesta of San Juan in Calderas, Tierradentro/," published in the Revista Colombiana de Folklore, Number 2 of 1953.

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Mingas

476 The minga is the most widespread form of labor among the
461 Páez. The natives can work for themselves alone and are excellent laborers. But the task would demand more of their time
[464] and effort. Thus, the minga serves to prevent "boredom" during the work, to gain time, and to provide a labor force which would otherwise be hard to obtain.

476 The minga then is a co-operative system of labor whereby the interested party invites a specific number of acquaintances to perform a job, duly rewarding them with food, drink, and coca. "Communal work for any particular individual is truly loaned labor, with obligatory recompense," says Hernández de Alba /cited in English/.

476 Indispensable articles of reward are meat, chicha, and, in
554 nearly all the parcialidades, coca. The incidence of the mingas is thus almost in direct proportion to the possession of domestic
[231] animals. Those who lack such stock, that is to say, the poor according to the concepts of Páez culture, work alone or in the company of their sons, if they have any.

476 In the course of the cultivation cycle the following mingas
241 are held: to fell the trees (clearings); to pile up the wood that remains after the burning and to cut stakes for the fence; to build fences; to do the planting and weeding.

In Calderas a minga for clearing is carried out in the following way:

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476 241 The master of the minga kills a head of cattle or, more commonly, a pig. He prepares a trough of chicha (fermented sugar-cane juice), several bottles of aguardiente, an arroba of mote (maize skinned with ashes), and procures a few pounds of coca. He invites the men of his choice. At dawn on the day agreed upon for the job, all those invited, with their tools on their shoulders, proceed with shouts to the house of the minguero. There they are given one egg (25) of coca, chicha, and a dish of

25. Measure of weight equivalent to a hen's egg.

476 461 241 mote with meat. At 8:00 A.M. they are all at work. Up to 30 laborers attend. They take along to the place of the work calabashes of chicha to drink during the rest periods, which correspond exactly to the "botada de la mambeada" /taking the chew of coca/. In the course of the day they have three mambeadas, and thus three rest periods. They more or less coincide with 10:00 A.M., 12:00 noon, and 2:00 P.M. During these rest periods they sit, talk, laugh, drink /330/ chicha, and soon go back to the work enthusiastically. They do it steadily and diligently. 476 241 No one talks then. At 4:00 P.M. they leave work and go to the house of the minguero, where their respective wives are already. Everyone receives chicha and aguardiente. Then the food, consisting of a large wooden platter full of mote, stew /revuelto/ with frijoles, arracacha, plantains, and three pieces of meat. Since they cannot eat all this, they put it in fique knapsacks to [782] take it to their respective homes. After eating, they pray, always invoking the deceased relatives of the minguero, whether [273] [535] they be ancestors, collaterals, or descendants. Then, they receive new gourds of chicha until they are drunk. Very often [578] they dance. There is no lack of fighting on these occasions.

476 435 According to an informant from Calderas, one minga with 15 laborers costs the following:

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1 bull	$40.00
1 1/2 arrobas of maize	1.50
2 pounds of coca	3.00
3 loads of chicha	6.00
Total	$50.00

The prices cited above prevail only among the natives. Among the "whites" an arroba of maize costs $6.00, a pound of coca $3.00, the cattle $25.00 per arroba, and chicha has a higher value. In the expenses of the minga there is no mention of the cost of aguardiente, frijoles, arracacha, and plantains, which are usually mixed with the mote. It should be noted that the articles listed are produced on the same finca, with the exception of the coca, which has to be purchased. In San Andrés the mingas consist of six to ten laborers more or less, usually relatives. Mote, stew with plantains, manioc, arracacha, pork, chicha, and coca are served. No cattle are killed, and there is no dancing after the work. The costs of the minga are as follows:

1 pig	$35.00
1 trough of chicha	2.00
1 arroba of maize	1.50
1 pound of coca	1.00
3 pounds of salt	0.60
/331/ 3 pounds of frijoles	0.60
2 arrobas of manioc	1.00
2 bunches of plantains	2.00
Total	$43.70

476 In Lame the chicha is purchased in Suin and Chinas, as is the coca. They commonly kill a pig.

In Mosoco we had the opportunity to observe a minga for the raising of the seed beds. There were three women, one boy, and five men. They were relatives. They had eaten at seven
● 461 in the morning. They worked in a group without distinction as
476 to sex or age, talking and laughing. Only the older ones, who usually chew coca, worked in silence, for talk produces

/331 cont./

461 insalivation, which disturbs the normal consumption of coca.
476 They worked steadily until 10:00 A.M., when they took a short rest. Then they went on working until 1:00 P.M., when they were served "refreshments," consisting of a cup of coffee and two large maize griddlecakes /arepas/ seasoned with salt and two eggs, which had been toasted on a piece of earthenware and finished by roasting in the hot ashes of the hearth. They went on working until 3:30 P.M. and then went to the house of the minguero. The reward usually consists of the following:

476 Two bowls of chicha; then a large platter with mote, stew
465 with potatoes or ullucos. They eat what they can and put the rest in an aluminum pan which they brought for this purpose, or they simply put it in a fique knapsack to take it to their respective homes. After this, they receive still another bowl of mote without meat. Then, once more, two bowls of chicha and, following this, a large pot overflowing with chicha to be distributed among those present. This is done for each of the persons in-
[273] vited. The consumption of chicha is thus abundant. After this they are given aguardiente. Already drunk, they organize a dance. All this, of course, among the natives of means. Among the poor, the mingas are usually made up of relatives, who "conceal the scarcity." No dancing is done.

476 In the mingas of Mosoco, they sacrifice bulls, calves, or pigs, and they always purchase one or two pounds of coffee and two or three arrobas of panela. From their own finca they consume wheat or maize flour, potatoes, ullucos, or broad beans.
[461] Coca has been replaced by "refreshments." During the work there
[276] are periods of rest that /332/ correspond roughly to taking a chew of coca in other parcialidades. The young people of Mosoco do not chew coca, but the old custom still influences the work. On the other hand, it is obvious that a minga in Mosoco is more expensive than paying wages, since various articles are purchased, and, in addition, they sacrifice cows or pigs worth more than 100
[464] pesos. But the mingas are indispensable in Mosoco as a means of obtaining labor which otherwise would be impossible to get. No one signs up for wages, because everyone has his own lands to work.

/346 cont./

466 given to him. From the harvests of maize, frijoles, and
427 arracacha the owner receives one bag (approximately half an
[241] arroba) of each product, and one or two bunches of the plantains.

231 He says that the hacienda owner has permitted him to raise
427 animals, but he has none, because he spends more time working
466 on the hacienda than in his own house. He says that he owned
[235] some 20 sheep, but is finished with them. Now he has only eight chickens.

427 The informant is the son of another tenant farmer and
466 grew up on this very hacienda. He has owned the house in which he now lives for 18 years. He has not signed any kind of document with the owner and has not been bothered by him about the possession of the house, but rather, on the contrary, has been urged by him to repair the house. In exchange for the use of the house and the land he is obliged to pay three days for rent
[465] per month, eating his own food and using his own tools. On the other days of the month he works for the same owner for daily wages, earning two pesos a day, excluding, of course, the days of religious or national holidays. Each week he re-
[452] ceives 12 pesos. From the owner he buys maize, manioc, and frijoles on credit, which is immediately deducted in labor. The owner only gives him salt and bananas. The panela comes from what he produces.

466 Since the informant specializes in milling and the making
427 of panela, he ordinarily does nothing else. His work begins at
257 six in the morning and ends at ten at night. He is assisted by his
[463] wife, who earns one peso a day, a deaf and dumb son who earns
[512] nothing, and another son who carries the cane to the sugar mill.
[465] This one is married, is also a tenant farmer, earns two pesos a day, and has a separate clearing. His wife does not help in the work because she stays at home caring for the house, looking after the children, and weeding the garden and the clearing.

427 At the mill he works even on Sundays at wrapping panela,
257 a task that cannot be neglected. Ordinarily he spends two weeks
461 at the mill and has the following one free (without pay) to rest,
466 to look after his own field, or to hire out his labor to anyone who

466 /346 cont./
427 needs it (nominal). On the following week he must return to
257 work at the hacienda.
[461] /347/ Each week he produces some 40 arrobas of panela.
[433] The informant boils it down, his wife mills with the deaf and
dumb son, and the other son strips the cane. The milling
[422] equipment is expensive and thus belongs to the hacienda. His
own tools are two shovels, one small bar, and three machetes,
with which he works for the hacienda. The owner of the
hacienda has tried to dismiss him three times. Once because
he made panela for another owner; it displeases the owner
to have him work elsewhere, especially at a mill. The in-
formant did not want to leave his house.
427 The plantings that he has made have sometimes been
241 lost because of the wetness of the soil, leaving no solution but
466 to plant again. The owner does not help at all in such
calamities. He has the right to plant as much as he wishes.
[423] Now he owns about 200 coffee trees, but the owner has forbidden
him to plant more trees.
427 The informant has seven children, five of whom are females;
465 three of them earn a peso a day working on the hacienda, harvest-
466 ing and weeding coffee. One who is younger earns 50 centavos,
and the son pays land rent and earns a daily wage of two pesos.
The owner is not honest. To pay the daily wages he usually takes
out bills of ten or twenty pesos and sends one of the peons to
exchange them for smaller currency, which is always short when
it is received. He pays in part and later maintains that the total
was met.

Another informant from the same hacienda says that for two years of vaquería (tending cattle) the owner gave him in payment for his labor one mare that is not worth 30 pesos. While doing this work he suffered hunger and worked too hard. Now, aside from having remunerated him very badly, he demands the payment of rent for the two years that he was engaged in this work.

In general terms, the tenant farmers of San Andrés, in exchange for the use of half a hectare of land, one garden, and one house, are obliged: to pay three days of rent per month, providing their own food; to work as day laborers for the hacienda,

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Moguex

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[177] Some had wooden doors and windows, and were built with nails and wires, though most were still made with vegetable materials.

The modern *Moguex* house has two rooms. The main one, entered through a small door, serves as storeroom for goods to be sold, reception hall, dancing place, and a room in which to keep watch over the dead. The other is a pantry for provisions and drinks; here are kept [354] kitchen utensils. In the center is the fireplace and around it dried [352] cowhides or platform beds made of horizontal poles tied to stakes [476] driven in the ground. One's neighbors aid him to build his house, [461] transporting heavy timbers over light rollers and singing rhythmi- [554] cally as they heave together. If the owner of a new house is a man of [778] means, he pays for a feast of benediction or consecration carried out with a Catholic priest, a godfather, and a godmother.

The *Páez* does all this and in addition puts some pieces of silver [352] money under his house to assure his good fortune. In the main house [415] he places the metate on stakes, and in a secondary house, the press [353] for extracting wax from laurel, one or more troughs or hollowed trunks, [354] and large jars for chicha and guarapo. From the roof frame hang bags, [524] or "mochilas," of netted hemp for belongings. There is also a bam- [283] boo candlestick, the wooden feast drum, sometimes a tiple or small guitar, and, nailed to the wall, a spindle. Outside, the loom stands 404 against the wall Beyond it is the sugarcane mill, which is made of 286 a section of tree trunk with a hole above a projection on which the 249 cane is pressed by hand with a rod which crosses the hole. Some mills consist of two or three wooden cylinders rotated by animal power.

243 In each maize field is a small, temporary house and a high platform 342 where a watchman frightens the parrots and parakeets with periodic cries and motions.

177 Each *Páez* group today has its communally built pueblo, with 361 "bahareque" buildings grouped around a rectangular plaza: a church, with its arched portico and small tower in imitation of Colonial architecture, a house for the priest, a school, and two or three large houses for meetings and fiestas, where they dance, sing, and sleep during fiesta days. But ordinarily, the people remain at their distant houses and fields, and do not live at the pueblo, the only permanent inhabitants of which are a few Whites and Mestizos.

ENGINEERING WORKS

491 The Spaniards found bridges which they described as "weak and 499 flexible bridges of bamboo" and "bridges of vines." A territory so broken and crossed with so many rivers and canyons naturally stimulated the *Páez* in the construction of bridges and the laying out of roads. Today they make four kinds of bridges: (1) A simple vine or cable stretched across the river; (2) a kind of wooden stairs placed